



Lady Jane Grey

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Dindley (Lady Jane)

THE
HISTORY
OF
JANE GREY,
QUEEN OF ENGLAND:

WITH A DEFENCE OF HER CLAIM TO THE CROWN,

Virtue is beauty: but when charms of mind
With elegance of outward form are join'd;
When youth makes such bright objects still more bright,
And fortune sets them in the strongest light;
'Tis all of heav'n that we below may view,
And all, but adoration, is your due.

L O N D O N :

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1791.



P R E F A C E.

EVERY literary production that assumes the formidable shape of history, naturally excites curiosity:—The following concise account of the life and death of that bright luminary of religion, virtue and learning, Lady Jane Grey, otherwise Queen Jane, was presented to me as authentic and interesting, being selected from the most approved writers of the age in which she outshone all her cotemporaries of

either sex or quality. While my memory was refreshed with revising the manuscript, and my heart glowed with contending passions at the melting tale, before I could recollect myself to pursue the narrative, my task was ended, but without giving me that satisfaction I had promised myself in the perusal.

Having some years since attentively read several authors on the subject, and thinking the present fell short of what might naturally be expected from the title, I had recourse to them, and added to the Work, what I conceived was wanting, to make the

P R E F A C E.

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the volume worthy to be called
the History of Lady Jane Grey.

If I have stepped out of my way in turning biographer instead of restricting myself to my more peculiar province of correcting mere *typographical errors*, I hope the necessity of the case will be admitted a sufficient apology, as, has been observed before, there was not sufficient matter in what was first put into my hand either to make it worthy attention, interesting, or entertaining.

A bare narration of the incidents as recorded by other historians, brought into one view,

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was

was sufficient, without new embellishments — the melancholy scenes which actually took place in the life of this illustrious person, requires neither art nor fiction to fix the mind to the subject, and though the story is well known it cannot be too much read, especially by the rising generation, as a stimulus for them, if put to any of the trials, Lady Jane endured and bore so triumphantly, to endeavour to imitate her bright example; in whom, the christian, scholar, and heroine, were united.

The lovers of fiction and romance will find in the History of Lady Jane Grey, real sorrows to commiserate, and in the sequel, not have to complain of that empty
ty

ty void, that attends the reading of the most interesting novels, which the mind on reflection revolts from, as arising from the mere phantoms of the imagination only.

The succeeding short address was the only preface annexed to the work by the author.

“ In the following book, I have thought it necessary to enter into a short history of the times in which JANE GREY lived, in order to give the reader a clearer idea of the reasons which occasioned the succession as settled by Henry, to be changed for another order of succession.

I know not, in the works of any author, that the same opinion I have entertained, was ever advanced, except in some degree in the *Libel of Hales**, which is a book long forgotten, and I believe not extant now, at least I have never met with it."

* It attempted to prove that on the demise of Elizabeth, without issue, the crown would belong to the Suffolk family.

T. WILKINS.

Nov. 10. 1791.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
JANE GREY,
QUEEN OF ENGLAND:

WITH A DEFENCE OF HER CLAIM TO THE CROWN.

CHAP. I.

ON HISTORY.

HISTORY (*ιστορια**) was by the
ancients supposed to derive her
origin from the gods, and to be en-
B dued

* The word had at first its derivation from
ιστορις. In process of time however the de-
rivation was changed, and taken from a word
of more enlarged signification from *ιστημι*.

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THE HISTORY OF

ded with immortality; without entering into a consideration of the first attribute, we may without any difficulty allow her the possession of the last. The lapse of ages, which demolishes the pride of empire, and the pomp of power, which overthrows

The cloud-cap'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples,

is not able to decrease her vigour, or destroy her power—The pen of the poet, and the pencil of the painter, would doubtless represent her *smiling at time.*

To history belongs the singular merit of uniting the pleasing, and the profitable, the entertaining, and the instructive

JANE GREY.

structive—The advantages derived from her are numerous. The blessings she produces permanent.

A NERO, a CALIGULA, a RICHARD *the third*, portrayed by her in their proper colours, produce in our minds not only an abhorrence of their actors, but a settled hatred for tyranny and oppression. From the reign of a TITUS, an AUGUSTUS, an ALFRED, we deduce the necessity of a well ordered government, towards securing the happiness and prosperity of those who are subject to it. A BRUTUS, a REGULUS, an HAMDEN, a RUSSEL, a SIDNEY, a WASHINGTON, increase in our breasts the *amor patriæ*, and inculcate an enthusiastic love for liberty and independence

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pendence, while the bigotry of a MARY, or a JAMES, produces an aversion to those who would rob religion of all her serenity, her meekness, and her philanthropy.

The long stride of ambition, the ponderous arm of power, the thick mask of hypocrisy, the cautious fraud of cunning, are observable in the transactions of every nation, and generate reflections favourable to virtue.

But it must be confessed that these advantages have not always resulted from history.

In the early ages of the world, and in the infancy of science, history was
but

but a rude recapitulation of events, some of them fabulous and wholly destitute of truth, all told without elegance and rendered unimproving, by the want of elucidating remarks and reflections*. It should seem while we peruse these fabulous accounts of the first ages, as if history had been nursed in the cave of superstition.

These fables and idle stories however, may be accounted for in a less poetical manner.

Mankind at that time were governed by monarchs who ruled with absolute authority; it may easily be

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sup-

* Of this description are the eastern chronicles, the faith, &c.

supposed that it was to their interest either to keep their subjects in total ignorance, or to give them only such information as would assist their political views—patrons of the poets who were generally the historians of those days, this was easily effected: it was not difficult to give what colour they pleased to particular events, or to conceal from people as yet covered with the capacious cloak of ignorance, transactions of which it was necessary they should be ignorant.

This was the infancy of history.

The lapse of ages, and the vices and undue exertions of the power entrusted to monarchs, withdrew by degrees

grees the veil from the eyes of the people—men began to determine what were the natural rights of men—liberty exerted her influence, and history tore off the bandage from her eyes, which tyranny and superstition had placed over them.

Her page was now not filled with a new relation of events, but with a discussion of those events. Monarchs who had reigned with the sceptre of mildness, were decorated with the merited laurel, while those who had ruled with the rod of oppression, were handed down to posterity, with deserved detestation and contempt. These advantages began now to result from history, which I have before mentioned.

Still however, she has, and I fear will always have to contend with the errors of education, the prejudice of party, or of country.

Historians are but men, and it would be absurd to suppose them devoid of the foibles of men.

These prejudices will lead them to dim the brilliancy of particular characters, to which the lapse of ages alone, will be able to restore their original* lustre, and to place transactions in an erroneous and mistaken point of view.

Under

* Under this description I close the character of the unfortunate injured Mary, Queen of Scots, and that of the last of the Tarquins.

Under this impresson, I have produced the following dissertation, on which I have differed from all other historians who have ever written before me. Perhaps for this presumption it may be expected I should make some apology ; I think none necessary.

Mankind are too enlightened now not to be able to discover erroneous opinions. If what I shall offer shall appear to be such, I shall receive the treatment I deserve ; if they shall seem to be otherwise, no apology can be necessary.

to

THE HISTORY OF

C H A P. II.

Accession of Edward the Sixth. Characters of Somerset and Warwick.

HENRY THE EIGHTH appointed sixteen executors* to his will; the affairs of the kingdom were consequently to be under their direction during the minority of his successor, *Edward*, who had scarce attained his ninth year when he ascended the throne.

From

* Twelve were afterwards added as assistants.

From this number immediately on the demise of *Henry*, and the accession of *Edward*, one was appointed to the protectorship. To this high station was raised *Edward Seymour*, uncle to the king, and *Earl of Hertford*—one whose goodness of heart rendered him worthy of such a situation, but whose candour and openness of disposition ill qualified him to hold a post which has always required great abilities, and great political management.

The protector (created by the young king on his accession, *Duke of Somerset*) was not remarkable for brilliant accomplishments of mind—in his manners he was mild—in his principles, moderate, brave, open, gener-

ous, and one who wished obedience to his will, to be the effect of love rather than of fear.

With these qualifications he was to manage a council composed of men jealous of his exalted situation, and possessed of superior abilities, superior cunning, and superior ambition.

Of his associates in the government of the kingdom, the most formidable was *Dudley, Earl of Warwick*; he was the son of that Dudley, a baron of the Exchequer, whom Henry the seventh had made his instrument for extorting money from the people, and whom Henry the eighth for these practices had caused to be beheaded
im-

JANE GREY.

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immediately on his accession to the throne.

Young Dudley for services performed in France, under the Duke of Suffolk, was knighted by Henry, and on the death of his father-in-law, the title of Viscount Lisle was conferred on him, with the dignity of Lord High Admiral of England.

Warwick had all those qualities which the protector wanted—he possessed in a peculiar degree the art of conciliating the favour of princes; with Henry he had ingratiated himself not only by his bravery, but by the active part he took in all the pleasures of a court, and by his skill in the fashionable diversions of the times.

Pro-

Proteus like, he could adopt his demeanour and his conversation to the various whims and caprices of his master, and in the same day would be the grave counsellor of the king, the director of a powerful naval armament, the hero of a tournament, and the mirthful master of the revels.

He saw that implicit obedience to Henry, was the only method to secure his favour.—That implicit obedience therefore he payed, and that favour he obtained.

The friendship of Edward was easily secured, by a man of his specious manners; he saw that the young king was pious, charitable, and humane; his

his conversation therefore breathed the very essence of those virtues.

In securing however the esteem of the king, he forgot not to conciliate that of the protector, whose power nevertheless he beheld with an eye of jealousy, and whose popularity he secretly, resolved at a proper season to undermine.

C H A P. III.

Expedition into Scotland. Trial and death of the protector's brother. Consequences of it.

HENRY with his dying breath, had charged his executors to promote a marriage between Mary, (only child of James the fifth, of Scotland) and his son Edward. In obedience to his desires the protector marched with an army into Scotland, in order to use force

force. if force should be found necessary. The Scots were defeated at *Pinkey*, and perhaps the wishes of Henry might have been effected, had not Somerset been obliged to return suddenly to England.

Warwick had accompanied the protector into Scotland, but he had emissaries in the council, who by promoting factions against Somerset during his absence, undermined his power, and paved the way for all the subsequent misfortunes he experienced.

Of those who were the dupes of his artifice, the most considerable in dignity, was LORD SUDELY, *Admiral of England*, and brother of the protector.

War-

Warwick had studied well his disposition; he had marked him to be ambitious and aspiring, and that he ill-brooked the superiority of his brother. This jealousy he failed not to cherish as much as possible; he saw that this consequence would arise from any dissensions between them; that it would either destroy the power of the one, or that the would fall a sacrifice, in which case also the interest of the protector would be weakened.

The latter of these consequences followed, Somerset immediately on receiving intelligence of the factions formed against him by his brother, hastened back to England.

Whether

Whether Warwick secretly encouraged the enemies of Sudely, (which I rather believe) or whether the protector thought it necessary to remove his brother out of the way, I am not able to ascertain, but soon after the return of Somerset various charges were preferred against the admiral in parliament; the chief was, that he had attempted, on the death of his wife, (*the Queen Dowager*) to marry the *Princess Elizabeth*, and had also endeavoured to obtain the custody of the young king.

Of these crimes he was found guilty, and soon after beheaded.

The event was the most fortunate that could have happened; the admiral

ral, as ambitious as Warwick, would have been a formidable opponent to his views. His death therefore not only removed a rival, but afforded him also an argument which at a proper season might be adduced to effect the ruin of the protector.

The death of the admiral was still fresh in the minds of the people: Warwick had collected some other trivial charges against Somerset, and his influence in the council was now considerable. This he thought the proper season, and he therefore resolved immediately to begin his attacks. A secession from the protector was

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was immediately determined, and eighteen of the council, with Warwick at their head, withdrew from court.

CHAP.

THE HISTORY OF

C H A P. IV.

Somerfet is deprived of the protectorship.

THE protector was thunderstruck; —he had not foreseen the attack, and was unprepared to repel it. At first he endeavoured to conciliate the friendship of Warwick by kind messages, but it was not to the interest of Warwick to be upon any terms with him; he rejected all his offers, and seizing upon the tower, sent for the mayor

JANE GREY.

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mayor and aldermen of the city, whom he addressed with the following arguments. "He shewed them that the protector had raised a great estate at the expence of the crown, and the oppression of the people; that he had endeavoured to procure the whole power into his own hands, contrary to the exprefs conditions on which he received the protectorship; that in defiance of every tie of natural affection, he had signed the warrant for the execution of his own brother; that he had no more regard for divine, than for human laws, inasmuch as he had demolished several churches to raise a palace for himself; and lastly, that he had intruded even into the sacred repositories of the dead, and scattered the bones

bones*, perhaps, of some of their ancestors into the common streets and highways; he therefore required their assistance to displace him from the protectorship."

This speech, calculated to inflame the minds of those to whom it was addressed, produced the desired effect: the mayor and aldermen promised their assistance, and *Warwick* immediately caused a proclamation to be made of nearly to the same purport as his speech.

In

* He had pulled down two churches which stood on the site of Sommerfet-house, and in digging the foundation of the palace, several bones were dug up, which were thrown carelessly into the streets.

In the mean time, Somerset, who had the care of the king's person, removed him to Windsor, from whence he made him write a letter to the city, desiring one thousand men to be armed in his defence: Warwick also sent another letter requiring two thousand men. The city were in a dilemma, and divided in opinion, the mayor and Aldermen inclining to the side of Warwick, the common-council to that of the protector. At length however it was determined that the requests of either party should be complied with, and that only a few men should be armed for their own defence.

Warwick thus disappointed, resolved adopt another expedient; he sent

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Sir

Sir Edward Winkfield, captain of the guards, with a letter from the discontented lords to the king, in which they expressed their loyalty to his majesty, and that their only intention was to remove the duke of Somerset from the protectorship, for reasons particularized in the letter.

Young Edward had always paid great deference to the advice of Warwick; added to this, he had an affection for him: the letter therefore determined him to remove Somerset from his person and his dignity, and to send him to the Tower.

The wish of Warwick was now obtained—several articles of accusa-

tion

tion against the duke were drawn up, the chief of which was, that the office of protector was conferred on him, with the express condition, that in all matters the late king's executors should be consulted; this condition he had violated.

Somerfet, whether from a consciousness of the justice of the charge, or from a knowledge of the partial and vindictive spirit of his adversaries, acknowledged himself guilty, and threw himself on the mercy of the king.

In consequence of his confession, the dignity of the protectorship was taken from him, and a great part of his estate was forfeited to the crown.

The young king however, in whose breast the milk of human kindness flowed copiously, was unable to refuse the request of Somerset for mercy. He ordered him to be released from the Tower, where he had been confined scarce three months, and restored him to all his possessions and honours, the dignity of protector excepted*.

Warwick in order to add to the king's good opinion of him, and to make the people suppose his late conduct had originated solely in patriotic motives, conducted himself with remarkable complacency towards the degraded duke; his resentment seemed

* And his palace of Somerset-house which has ever since remained in the possession of the crown.

seemed to be extinguished; again he courted his friendship, and to make it firmer, promoted an union between the daughter of Somerset and his eldest son, Lord Lisle.

The marriage was celebrated with great magnificence, and Edward, overjoyed at the reconciliation of two rivals, honoured the rejoicing with his presence.

C H A P. V.

*Schemes of Somerset to reinstate himself
in the protectorship. Discovered.
His death.*

WARWICK, though not nominally, was now in fact the protector of the kingdom; he enjoyed the favour of the king in its utmost extent, and soon after the marriage of his son, was raised to the dignity of Duke of Northumberland.

The

The fallen Somerset, though between him and Northumberland, a firm friendship seemed to exist, could not behold his increasing honours without envy: the height from which the latter had thrown him he never could forget, and his jealousy increased with the increasing power of his adversary.

Somerset was unguarded and open in his conversation; he possessed ambition, but prudence and caution, the necessary attendants of ambition, were qualities which he wanted; he uttered frequent exclamations against the king and Northumberland, and at length resolved by murdering the lat-

ter to pave the way towards re-instating himself in his former dignity.

Seated on the pinnacle of power, all were the creatures of Northumberland; to him therefore the unguarded exclamations of Somerset were conveyed, and his dreadful design prevented by discovery*.

Northumberland immediately summoned the members of the council, to whom he related the intentions of Somerset: a warrant was accordingly issued

* It is said that Northumberland employed persons to induce Somerset to this act, in order to bring him by a trial for it to a speedy death.

issued to apprehend him, and he was committed to the Tower; several indictments were immediately brought against him, some for seditious words spoken against the king and government; but the chief one was, that in which he was accused of assembling men at his own house to consult* about murdering the duke of Northumberland.

On his trial, at Westminster, before the marquis of Winchester, who sat as lord high steward, and twenty-seven peers, he pleaded not guilty to the first charges, and repelled them satisfacto-

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rily,

*Though the murder was not committed, yet by an act of this reign, the compassing the death of a privy counsellor, is deemed felony.

rily, but confessed the last:—he was sentenced to be beheaded.

The merciful Edward however, was still willing to spare his life, and for some time resisted every argument used to induce him to suffer the sentence to be put into execution, but Northumberland, whose former enmity had returned, by the discovery of Somerset's machinations, and who had conceived schemes which could not be executed without his death, suffered no intercession to be made for his life, and at length prevailed on the king to sign the warrant for his death.

Somerfet

Somerfet received the fatal intelligence without emotion, and prepared for death without fear.

The manly fortitude with which he ascended the scaffold gained the hearts of the people, who expressed their pity and compassion for his unhappy end. Before he submitted his head to the executioner, he addressed the beholders in a short speech, wherein he cleared himself of any ill designs against the king; and declared that he had made it the study of his life to increase the happiness of the people, and to establish the reformed religion. The beholders

holders with tears and groans unanimously exclaimed, "*It is most true.*"

He then commended his soul to heaven, and laying his head upon the block, it was severed from his body.

C H A P. VI.

The ambitious designs of Northumberland.

THE death of Somerset left Northumberland without a rival; though possessed of power little inferior to kings, his desires were unsatisfied, and he conceived schemes more elevated than had ever entered into the mind of any subject; he wished that the kingdom should be governed
by

by his descendants, and that future monarchs should deduce their origin from him.

Of all the actions of his life, none proved him to be more worthy of the character of a consummated politician, than the plan he concerted for the accomplishment of his wishes.

Mary, should Edward die without issue, was nominated his successor: It required very little penetration, and no depth of reasoning, to conclude that from a furious bigot to the Romish religion, one who professed the principles of the reformation, and was Edward's prime minister, would receive very little favour. Independent however of

of these objections, (in themselves nevertheless sufficient) Northumberland had been the chief cause of citing Mary before the privy-council to answer certain questions concerning her religion; this he was very well convinced she never would forgive.

All his blooming honours, all his vast views, his ambitious projects would expire with the ascension of Mary to the throne; her therefore, he resolved to use every endeavour, and every art to exclude.

The mighty idea was not the idea of a day; it had long occupied his attention, and produced at length a scheme

scheme which was the scheme of a master.

The Suffolk family, was one of the noblest in the kingdom ; their descent was derived from kings, and that descent was a lineal one ; the marquis of Dorset had married the last survivor of that family ; his friendship therefore it was indispensibly necessary to his views to conciliate ; the title of duke of Suffolk, which on the death of the father of Dorset's wife had been extinct, was through the intercession of Northumberland with Edward, conferred on the marquis. To cement more closely the friendship that subsisted between them, Northumberland proposed an union between one
of

of his son's and Suffolk's eldest daughter; the proposal was acceded to with eagerness, and Lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, was immediately united to Lady Jane Grey, Suffolk's eldest daughter, a young lady of the most brilliant accomplishments; nor was this all.—It was necessary to his views that his connections should be as extensive as possible; his own daughter therefore Catherine Dudley, he gave in marriage to Lord Hastings, eldest son to the Earl of Huntingdon, and promoted an union between Lord Cardiffe (for whose father he had procured the title of Earl of Pembroke) and Lady Catherine Grey, the second daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.

By

By alliances, Northumberland had now secured the support of some of the first families; the interest of others he endeavoured at the same time to ensure, by acts of kindness, and condescending complacency; and having thus formed a strong phalanx in his favour he began the operations.

C H A P. VII.

The execution of Northumberland's designs. Exclusion of Mary.

EDWARD was in a declining state of health, and therefore in a fit state of mind to receive the impressions of the artful and politic Northumberland.

In the presence of the king he would now often appear melancholy and uneasy,

easy; sigh sometimes deeply, and then turn aside seemingly to conceal the disorder of his mind.

Edward remarked this alteration in the deportment of his favourite, and pressed him to disclose the cause.

Northumberland for a long time refused; at length appearing only to be prevailed upon by the intreaties of his monarch, he complied with his request. He began by confessing that when he beheld His Majesty's ill health, and reflected on the consequences that would ensue, should he fall a victim to the disorder, he was filled with the deepest concern. His Majesty, he said, knew that his sister
Mary,

and then Mary was to succeed him in the
real the throne; he could not also be ignorant
of her attachment to the Roman Catho-
lic religion. In the most glowing co-
ours he then proceeded to paint to his
te, and imagination the slaughter and havock
that would ensue when she attempted,
as she certainly would) to lead the
g time people back to the ancient faith.
only to The recital filled Edward with the
treaties most poignant uneasiness, and the tears
d with all copiously down his cheeks.
nfessing

fty's ill Northumberland proceeded.

confe- He insinuated, that Henry had en-
ould he rtained no doubt of his Majesty
he was having issue, else he would not have
i. His nominated Mary, whom he knew to
is sister be
Mary,

be so attached to that religion which he had thought fit to abolish; he asserted, that it was the duty of every king who loved his people, to put the kingdom in such a state, that at his death, neither the religion, nor the laws, might receive any injury from his successor; this his Majesty could not do, if he suffered the crown to descend to Mary.

In excluding her however he could not in justice nominate his younger sister Elizabeth, because the rights of both were equal, and the claims of the one depended upon those of the other.

The young queen of Scots stood the next in succession, but the law of
England

England excluded her because she was an alien, or foreign born.

No one therefore remained who could claim a right to the crown but the dutchess of Suffolk, whose eldest daughter, Lady Jane, was by her birth and accomplishments best qualified to succeed him.

This speech produced all the success Northumberland desired; it was calculated to impress Edward with an idea of the damage of the reformed religion would receive from the succession of Mary, and it is not therefore to be wondered that he consented to exclude his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, from the succession in favour of Lady Jane

Jane Grey. A will for that purpose was accordingly drawn up, and submitted to the council, who unanimously gave their assent and signed it*.

* It must be recollected that the sole government of the kingdom was in the council; their assent to any measure was therefore sufficient, and rendered an act of parliament to exclude Mary, and settle the crown on Jane, unnecessary.

C H A P. VIII.

*Discussion of the claims of Mary and
Lady Jane.*

I Come now to the discussion of the
claim of Mary, and to the defence
of the pretensions of Lady Jane, in
the prosecution of which I shall ba-
nish from my mind the means used by
Northumberland to exclude Mary
from the succession, as entirely foreign

D

to

to a fair inquiry into the merits of their separate claims.

It may be curious to observe the conduct of historians, who enamoured with the virtues or accomplishments of some bold usurper, have in the recital of his atchievements, forgotten to mention, or only slightly touched upon the defect in his title to the throne.

With great labour they have endeavoured to varnish over the defect in the claim of Henry the seventh, whose actions deserved, it must be confessed, the gratitude of his country, and the applause of the people; but on descanting on his claim in a legal view,

view, we must exclude these from our consideration, and consequently pronounce his pretensions unworthy of the smallest notice: because when he ascended the throne, one yet lived, the Earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, whose right was unquestionable, and to whom no objection could be made.

But the contention is not with Henry, but between Lady Jane Grey, and Mary; the former traced her descent from Edward the fourth, in the following manner.

Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward, was married to Henry the seventh.

Their issue were Arthur, who died
at fifteen years of age.——

Henry, who succeeded to the
throne.——

Edmund, who died at five years
of age.——

Margaret, who married first, James
the fourth, king of Scotland; and after
his death, Douglas, Earl of Angus;
from which second marriage, descend-
ed Henry, Lord Darnley, who married
Mary, Queen of Scots.——

Elizabeth, who died young.——

Mary

Mary, first married to the King of France, afterwards to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

Their issue were three sons, who died young, and FRANCIS married to the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk.

Their issue were three daughters, of whom Lady Jane Grey was the eldest.

Mary on the other hand was the eldest daughter of Henry the eighth, and appointed successor to Edward; these are the foundations of her claim to the throne: the merits of which I prepare to discuss.

I confess that I have always entertained doubts of the legitimacy of Mary's Birth, for the following reasons, in which I shall be under the necessity of entering into a discussion of that which for a number of years engaged the attention of Europe, employed the abilities of the learned, and sapped the foundation* of popery.

It is well known that Catherine, the mother of Mary, was married to Arthur, the eldest son of Henry the seventh, whose wife she continued five months, and that after his death she married the brother of her first husband,

* The conduct of the Pope in this affair of the divorce, made Henry resolve to curtail his power in England; the suppression of the religious houses gave the first blow to popery.

band, afterwards Henry the eighth, for which the dispensation of the Pope was obtained.

The churchmen* were the first who entertained doubts of the validity of the second marriage, by which they conceived the express commands of God † to have been violated. Henry being informed of their doubts, wished the subject to be discussed ‡ and sent

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to

* Pol. Virgil. Hall.

† Lev. xviii. 6, 16. St. Basil's opinion also threatening excommunication to any person who shall marry the wife of his brother.

‡ The King speaking to the Bishop of Bath concerning his marriage, said, "If the bull for my marriage be nought, let it be so declared; if good, it shall never be broken by me."

Records.

to all the Universities in Europe for their opinions. The Pope, to whom in those days all matters in religion were referred, granted a commission to the cardinals, Wolsey and Campejus, *to bear the cause**. The chief point on which

* It should seem however, as if the Pope had been previously convinced of the illegality of the marriage by the following pollicitation granted to the cardinals.

POLLICITATIO.

Cum nos Clemens, divinâ providentiâ illius nominis papa septimus modernus, JUSTITIAM ejus causæ perpendentes, quam charissimus in Christo filius noster HENRICUS, octavus Angliæ Rex illustris, Fidei Defensor, et Dux Hiberniæ, de ejus matrimonii nullitate, tanquam notorium, publicum et famosum apud nos exposuit quod cum charissimâ in Christo filiâ nostrâ Catherinâ nulliter & de facto contraxisse & confirmasse affirmat, leges tam divinas quam humanas, in eâ parte notorie transgrediendo, &c.

“We

which witnesses were examined, was the consummation of the marriage between Catherine and Arthur, her first husband; this was proved by the evidence of* the Dutchess of Norfolk, the Countess of Essex, and Lady Fitzwater†. Even the Queen's counsel-

D 5

lory

"We Clement, by divine providence, the seventh Pope of that name, considering the JUSTICE of that cause (a notorious and public thing) which Henry the eighth, King of England, defender of the faith, and Lord of Ireland, hath made known to us concerning the illegality of a marriage which he affirms himself to have contracted, and de facto, consummated with Catherine, our dearest daughter in Christ, thereby notoriously transgressing divine and human laws, &c." RECORDS IN THE COTTONIAN COLLECTION.

* Records. Spelman.

† The proof of the consummation rendered the dispensation of the Pope for the marriage with Henry void, because the words of the dispensation

lor *Washam*, Archbishop of Canterbury, confessed on the trial, that he approved not of the second marriage, because it was contrary to the law of God. The Queen's appeal to the Pope, however prevented judgment being given, and the cardinals were forced to adjourn the court. The trivial excuses and intrigues of the Pope*, convinced Henry that no bill of divorce would ever be granted; the affair

tion, are *Vel forsan cognitum*—I mention this only that those who think the dispensation of any consequence, may see that these words made it null.

* Henry had been informed that Campajus the cardinal had brought a bull for the divorce over with him, but that the Pope unwilling to displease the Emperor, commanded him not to present it; the subsequent delays at home in the affair were owing to the same cause.

fair was therefore submitted to the parliament. *Sir Thomas More*, Lord Chancellor, with twelve Peers of the realm*, informed the house, that His Majesty had received the opinions of several Universitiest, all agreeing in this point, *That the brother, by the law of God, cannot marry the reliēt of his brother, and that the dispensation of the Pope for the marriage was unwarrantable, his Holiness not being able to dispense with the law of God.*

The parliament therefore passed an act declaring the marriage to be *illegal*.

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and

* Records.

+ Viz. Those of Oxford, Cambridge, Orleans, Paris, Anjou, Burgos, Bologna, Padua, and Thoulouse.

and the produce of it to be *illegitimate*; it cannot be denied that Mary now was divested of every claim to the succession.

Perhaps it may be alledged in answer to this, that a posterior act of parliament, settling the crown on her in case of failure of issue by Edward, rendered the prior act void.

I prepare to discuss that in the ensuing chapter.

C H A P. IX.

A continuation of the discussion.

AFTER the birth of Edward, Henry wished to settle the succession to the crown; the tender age of his son induced him to provide a successor to him should he die before he came of age, or without issue. With these sentiments he cast his eye on Mary and Elizabeth, though they had been both

both declared illegitimate, yet he knew that the parliament would not dare to disobey him even if he required them to pass an act directly contradictory to any former one; previous however to his wishes being submitted to parliament, he sent several articles to Mary to sign, the purport of which were that she should maintain the statutes of the realm, *and deny the power and the supremacy of the Pope.* Mary consented to subscribe them, and the parliament immediately passed an act in which she was nominated successor to Edward.

It follows then of course that if Mary consented not to abjure the
Roman

Roman Catholic faith, or to abide by the provisions* of the act which bestowed the crown on her, she rendered it null and void, and consequently restored to the first act of parliament, declaring her birth illegitimate, its original power.

But were I for the sake of argument to allow the marriage of Catherine and Henry to be legal, I cannot but suppose that there might be reasons powerful enough to justify Edward in excluding Mary from the succession. The difference between the established religion of the kingdom, and that which
Mary

* The provisions were to the same purport as the articles which Mary signed.

Mary professed, will be found a reason sufficiently weighty*.

The claim of Elizabeth depended in a great measure on the claim of Mary.

Mary, Queen of Scots, who preceded Jane Grey, could not succeed unless an act of parliament had been repealed excluding any one foreign born from the throne; besides, the same objection may be made to her in respect to her religious opinions, as to Mary.

No

* The attachment of James the second to the Roman Catholic religion is deduced (and with great propriety) as a justification for the revolution.

No such objections however, could be made to Jane Grey.

Her descent was unquestioned; she was neither foreign born, nor did she profess a different religion to that established by act of parliament.

I have thus adduced my opinion of the legality of Mary's pretensions, and have laid before the world those reasons which lead me to pronounce the claim of Mary to be inferior to that of Lady Jane Grey.

C H A P. X.

The character of Lady Jane Grey.

HISTORIANS, whatever difficulty they have in allowing the justice of Lady Jane's claim to the crown, find none in admitting the propriety of her pretensions to every accomplishment of person, and every endowment of mind. In the loveliness of one, and the beauties of the other, we forget the lustre of her birth, because that birth

birth received new brilliancy from her accomplishments.

From the earliest infancy she discovered an inclination for retirement; fond of a secluded life, it was her wish to have sacrificed the possession of greatness and grandeur, to the enjoyment of a less dignified, yet not less pleasing walk of life, to the discharge of the social duties, and to the pursuit of knowledge: but her wishes were denied; dragged from the bosom of retirement to unexpected honours; from the vale of contemplation to the steep hill of royalty, she seemed to ascend it with a conviction that her seat upon it would be short and insecure, and

and predicted that the crown would be to her but a crown of thorns.

At an early age by intense application she had made herself well acquainted with the Latin tongue, and knew something of the Greek. In theological disputation (the wisdom of those times) she was particular excellent, and several pieces written by her were much admired.

To these accomplishments of the mind were added in a no less eminent degree the more valuable qualifications of the heart; she was humble, pious, and humane; possessed of great filial obedience, and uncommon fortitude;

JANE GREY.

64

tude; in her religion was steady, in her sufferings resigned.

Such, such was Jane Grey, superior to all in virtue, in knowledge, in sorrow, and in misfortunes.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Death of Edward.

THUS far the designs of Northumberland had been crowned with the utmost success; that however which makes others careless, served but to increase his caution. Penetrating and able to discern the consequences of human events, he saw it would require that sort of reasoning
not

not very well adapted to the comprehension of the people, to persuade them that the succession of Lady Jane would not be illegal, and that consequently Mary might be able in a moment to blast all his deep laid schemes, and turn the scale in her favour.

The person of Mary therefore he resolved to secure, and for that purpose dispatched a letter from the council, requiring her attendance on the King, whose health declined daily, and who wished to see her.

The policy of Northumberland was not ill-judged; Mary prepared to obey

obey the intreaties of the council. She had not however compleated half her journey before she received intelligence of Northumberland's designs, which immediately determined her instead of proceeding on her journey to return to her seat at *Hovesden*; this alone saved her and ruined Northumberland.

By her not obeying the summons, the latter saw that she either suspected or had discovered his intentions; how it was unnecessary now to endeavour to develope, and too late to remedy.

Edward's disorder increased; the power of medicine became ineffectual;

tual; his speech left him, and on the sixth of July, 1553, he died*.

* Historians have imputed his death to Northumberland, for what reason I am at a loss to discover, except that they are unwilling to permit the measure of his crimes to be imperfect and incomplete.

C H A P. XII.

*Proclamation of Lady Jane. Activity
of Mary.*

THE full success, or the total dis-
appointment of Northumber-
land's elevated designs was now not
far distant.

Immediately on the demise of Ed-
ward, he usurped the place of presi-
dent of the council, and sending for

the mayor and aldermen of the city, informed them that the king was dead, and by his will had appointed the eldest daughter of the Dutchess of Suffolk to succeed him.

Activity The oaths of allegiance were then tendered *and taken.*

total dis-
number-
now not The young Queen employed in the discharge of the duties of a private life, and engaged in pursuing her favourite studies, was ignorant of these proceedings in her favour, and when informed of them by Northumberland and her father, burst into tears.

e of Ed-
of pres-
nding for
th "Alas," she exclaimed, "why heap these honours upon me? I desire them,
E 2 I de-

I deserve them not; suffer me, my good parents, to refuse the crown; it will be to me but a crown of thorns."

Surprized as was Northumberland at this refusal of the highest of all earthly honours, it was not his intention to comply with her request. By the most persuasive arguments, and her father's commands, she was however at length from motives of filial obedience induced to accept the proffered grandeur.

Her hard acquiescence thus obtained, she was immediately invested with the insignia of royalty, conducted in great state to the Tower, and declared Queen of England, by which
title

title she was also proclaimed by sound of trumpet through the capital.

Mary in the mean time lost not a moment; hastening to her seat of *Kenning Hall*, in *Norfolk*, she took upon herself the name of Queen, and on the ninth of July wrote a letter to the council, commanding them to proclaim her Queen of England, in obedience to the will of her father. The council returned for answer that her birth being illegitimate they could not acknowledge her title, informing her at the same time that the will of his late Majesty excluded her from the throne.

That which she could not prevail on the council to do by words, she prepared to effect by force, and by vigorous endeavours collected an army of near forty thousand men.

Nor was Northumberland idle; an army of eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse was immediately assembled, the command of which was at first offered to the Duke of Suffolk. The young Queen however would not permit her father to accept it, and it was conferred on Northumberland.

It was now for the first time that he seemed to entertain doubts of the success of his designs. In his speech to the
the

the council, previous to his departure, he endeavoured to make them sensible of the danger of the enterprize, and of the necessity of their firm support to his measures.

With the most pointed assurances of the zeal of the council in the cause of the young Queen, he at length took upon himself the command, and departed from London. His former alacrity now seemed to have forsaken him; instead of hastening to meet Mary, before she could collect a sufficient number of forces, to oppose him, and by a decisive blow deciding the fate of his schemes, he marched slowly and deliberately, and as if he

were returning from conquest, rather than hastening to battle.

Mary took advantage of this inertness, and collected a more than sufficient force to oppose him.

[CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

*Failure of Northumberland's designs.
Deposition of Jane. Accession of Mary.*

WHEN I consider the character of Northumberland, I cannot impute his present conduct to timidity, I rather think that he doubted the fidelity of his army, and the steadiness of the council.

And in this supposition I am justified by the consequences.

Four thousand of his army, commanded by the brother of the Earl of Huntingdon, went over to Mary, and reduced his army to six thousand.

The council also immediately afterwards deserted the unhappy Queen, and declared for Mary.

All the deep laid schemes of Northumberland were now blasted and ruined; dispirited by this last intelligence he disbanded his army, and returning to Cambridge, proclaimed Mary himself in the Market Place, Queen of England.

But Mary who despised him now as much as she before hated him, resolved

solved that he should not by this contemptible action shield him from her vengeance; he was therefore arrested by the Earl of Arundel, at whose feet he condescended to request his intercession with the Queen, and was conveyed immediately to the Tower.

In the breast of the unfortunate Jane, the failure of the designs in her favour occasioned no sensations of sorrow. When the Duke of Suffolk informed her that her reign was at an end, "Heaven knows, my father," she said, "with what gladness I resign a crown which I never sought to wear."

With sensations of real satisfaction she returned to a life of retirement, and to those studies which she had quitted but with reluctance.

Mary, who had now no enemy to encounter, advanced to London, where she was proclaimed Queen of England, and took peaceable possession of the throne.

I shall now enter into a consideration of the reasons to which Mary was indebted for her rapid* success, and her bloodless accession to the throne.

* Ten days after the death of Edward, Mary's claim was allowed.

C H A P. XIV.

Reasons of Mary's success.

THE introduction of a new system, or novel opinions, but more particularly those which relate to religion, is not effected without difficulty, and the establishment of them rarely completed without the effusion of blood.

It required as despotic a monarch as Henry the eighth, to pave the way for the introduction of the reformation.

In the history of that glorious work, however, it will be discovered that trivial praise is due to Henry.

In the early part of his reign for writing against Luther, he received the title of defender of the faith; displeased afterwards with the Pope*, he resolved to curtail his power. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign, a visitation is appointed to the different religious houses in the kingdom; the mon-

strous

* For not granting him a bull of divorce.

strous enormities discovered in them are related to the people. In the moment that their passions are inflamed, and their resentment kindled, monastries and abbeys are suppressed, and their treasures and revenues seized by Henry*; from this conduct many drew this inference, that the Roman Catholic faith was to be abolished. The consequences however, convinced them they were mistaken; the haughty Henry would neither pay that compliment to Luther to adopt his tenets, nor would he on the other hand gratify the Pope by patronizing the doctrines

* Henry had two consequences in view by the suppression of these houses; one, to humble the Pope, the other, that the treasures found in them would enable him to prosecute his pleasures, without having recourse to the people.

trines of the Roman Catholic faith; each religion was therefore at the same time the object of his resentment, and Lutherans and Roman Catholics suffered equal persecutions. The posterior publication of that statute justly denominated bloody, left the people in the same uncertainty * with respect

to

* Luther wrote against the authority of the Pope, denying that it was lawful for him to grant indulgences, and that the body of Christ was really present in the sacrament. Henry agreed in the first point with Luther, but not in the last; the people were therefore in this curious situation after the publication of this statute. The statute required, *that the King should be acknowledged supreme head of the church: that no more bulls should be bought, and that no appeal should be made to the Pope:* with these requisitions the Roman Catholics could not comply.

It stated also that those should be condemned for Hereticks, and be burnt, who should maintain, *that the body of Christ was not really present*

in

to religion, no one being able to determine by the articles of it, whether the Roman Catholic religion was to be abolished, or the reformation to be introduced.

Edward, the successor of Henry, and the protector Somerset, were both attached to the reformed religion; by their endeavours the great work was pro-

in the sacrament, and that auricular confession was unnecessary. With these commands, the Protestants could not comply; therefore to have escaped persecution, it was absolutely necessary to be of no religion at all. To Henry, however, the reformation owes this; that by suppressing abbeyes and monastries, and by curtailing the power of the Pope, he laid a foundation for demolishing the Roman Catholic religion, and enabled EDWARD and ELIZABETH to prosecute, and at length to complete the reformation.

prosecuted with vigour, and complained.

The protectorship of Somerset, however, was but short, the reign of Edward not long: Nevertheless, the Roman Catholics were not idle, though they made no great efforts to restore their religion, for two reasons; the one, because the tender sickly constitution of Edward promised no long reign; the other, because Mary was named his successor, whose religious principles they knew to be in their favour, even to enthusiasm.

On the death of Edward, it was seen that the ancient religion of the king-

dom

dom had (if I may use the term) been only stunned, not murdered. The Roman Catholics ever suspicious, and therefore always upon their guard, though they did not expect that Mary would be excluded, immediately rose in her favour to the amount of forty thousand; they resolved either to set her on the throne, or lose their lives.

The Protestants more moderate, and always more forbearing, saw that it would be in vain to oppose them, as they were supported by all the Roman Catholic powers in Europe; besides, Northumberland, the supporter of Lady Jane, had by his vices rendered himself odious to them.

The

The want of unanimity in the council, occasioned by the odium they bore to Northumberland, favoured not a little the designs of Mary*.

But this was only a secondary and collateral cause; the principal and the original one was, that the reign of Edward was too short for the reformation to take a sufficient root.

And in this assertion I am justified by the conduct of the parliament which immediately on the accession of Mary, petitioned her to intercede with

* I have also often thought that the very sudden desertion of Jane by the council, was owing to some *Roman Catholic gold*, that might have been distributed among the members, or to some promises which Mary had made them.

the Pope for pardon, and to be received into the bosom of the church, declaring at the same time that they were very willing to abrogate all laws prejudicial to the see of Rome.

I am aware that to weaken this argument, it may be asked why in the succeeding reign, Elizabeth found it so easy to abolish the Roman Catholic religion, and restore the reformed? In reply to this, I think whoever considers the *horrible* reign of Mary, whoever views the dreadful cruelties with which the Roman Catholics treated the Protestants, will not wonder that the bulk of the people suffered a religion to be abolished, which was only

to be maintained by persecution, and by blood.

To these causes therefore do I attribute the success of Mary, and on these grounds I am led to assert that her quick and easy accession is not to be charged to the goodness of her claim, but to the religious principles she professed, so opposite to those of her competitor.

CHAP. XV.

The trial and sentence passed on Northumberland.

SCARCE had Mary ascended the throne, when she resolved by the trial and execution of Northumberland, to make her seat upon it firmer and more secure.

On the eighteenth of August, he was arraigned at Westminster Hall, with

with his eldest son, and the Marquis of Northampton.

Indifferent indeed would have been his knowledge of the human heart, had he expected to have received an equitable discussion from men, in whose breasts not only envy and prejudice were deeply rooted, but whose favour with their new sovereign was to be obtained solely by their zeal and activity in bringing him to punishment.

I stop not here to discant on the conduct of Northumberland, but there seems to me to be three objections to his being tried at all.

First,

First, Whether a man acting in obedience to the will of his Sovereign,* could be charged with high treason? Secondly, Whether having obeyed the warrant of the privy council, to which the great seal had been annexed, could be denominated treason? And lastly, Whether those from whom he had received his commands, being equally culpable with himself, could sit as his judges?

Northumberland suggested the second and third objections, but was told generally, that the great seal, un-

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der

* The Earl of Leicester in the reign of Elizabeth, evaded an examination into his management of affairs in Holland, by saying that he had acted in obedience to private instructions received from the Queen.

der which he acted, was that of a usurper, and could be no warrant for him, and that no attainder being upon record against those of whom he complained, the law deemed them not incompetent to be his judges.

Having thus felt the pulses of his peers, and finding no favourable symptoms, he pleaded guilty to the charge against him, and received sentence of death.

The ambition of Northumberland was not of that kind which impels its votaries to pursue their intention with fortitude, and not to forsake them

Till the last life blood lingers through the vein

It partook rather of that species
which acquires perseverance only by
success, and the ardour of which is
nervated, and at length totally de-
stroyed by disappointment.

When he found that all his schemes
were blasted, his projects ruined;—
when he beheld the small space that
lay between futurity and him, his
mean heart dictated to him to endea-
vour to preserve his life, by degrading
concessions to Mary, and by offering
to renounce the tenets of the reform-
ation.

Mary, however, despising his mean-
ness, and thinking herself insecure
while he lived, rejected his petition.

Four days after his trial he was brought to Tower Hill, where he professed himself a Roman Catholic, and spent some time in prayer, expecting a pardon from Mary, on account of his rejection of the reformation. His expectations, however, were disappointed, and he submitted with reluctance to his fate.

Northumberland was a man who possessed great abilities, and great vices. Fortune had raised him by degrees to the highest pinnacle of human power, though described by poets blind, she sometimes acts with judgment: finding at length her minion unworthy of her favours, she withdrew her protection, suffered him to fall from the height

on which she had placed him; and to die despised even by that person who had been the object of his hatred, and against whom all his machinations had been directed.

C H A P. XVI.

The trial of the deposed Queen and her husband.—Insurrection of Suffolk and Wyat.

THE execution of Northumberland preceded the trial of the deposed Queen and her husband but a short time: for though Mary saw her now unable to contend with her, yet she

she knew not what futurity might effect in her favour, were she permitted to continue in possession of her liberty.

With her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, she was arraigned at Guildhall, and by men disposed to pay the most servile obedience to any command, they were easily found guilty, and sentenced to die.

Mary possessed contemptible abilities, yet she wanted not that cunning which is often mistaken for wisdom, and by some esteemed equivalent to it. She saw that it was not yet time to put the sentence past on them into execution, and therefore for the present

contented herself with committing them to the tower.

Mary now that her great opponent Northumberland, was no more, and her competitor Jane imprisoned, began to think herself firmly seated on the throne of England, and to entertain ideas, by entering into the state of matrimony of giving a successor to the throne*; a match therefore was concluded between her and Philip of Spain.

This

* To this, she was chiefly induced by a wish to exclude Elizabeth from the succession, whom she hated on account of her being the daughter of Anne Bullen, and also for her adherence to the protestant faith.

This measure occasioned not a little alarm; the jealousy of the people was excited by an idea that this alliance would tend to subject England to the power of Spain.

The Duke of Suffolk, secretly cherished the fears of the people; he resolved to take advantage of the storm raised against Mary, and endeavour to reinstate his daughter Jane on the throne.

Through his means an insurrection began in Kent, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt, while the Duke himself in Warwickshire, tried to raise men in order to join him.

But Suffolk was ill-qualified for such an undertaking; he possessed neither that eloquence so necessary to inflame the passions of the people, nor that easy demeanour which is calculated to gain their affections.

With all his endeavours he could not raise an hundred men, and was therefore forced to abandon the enterprize, attempting to save himself by flight; in this however, he was disappointed, and made prisoner.

His adherent, Wyat*, who in the beginning had been more successful

* Wyat had collected an army of near four thousand men: with these he marched to London, where many were prepared to join him; instead of entering the capital with his whole army

cessful was by misconduct also made prisoner.

army, he left a great part in the suburbs, and with a few only, marched to Charing Cross proceeding to Ludgate he was denied entrance, and unable to effect any thing with so few men, he was prevailed upon to surrender himself prisoner to Sir Maurice Berkley, and submit to the mercy of the Queen. Another reason of the bad success of the transaction was, that the plot was discovered before it was ripe for execution, and the insurgents were on that account forced to take arms before they had collected all their friends together. The execution of the plot was not intended to have been till the arrival of Philip.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

*The death of the deposed Queen and her
husband Lord Guilford Dudley.*

THE consequences that would follow this insurrection were easily foreseen by the unfortunate Jane.

Immediately after the apprehension of the Duke of Suffolk and Wyatt, it was resolved that the sentence passed on
her

her and her husband should be put into execution.

A warrant was accordingly signed by Mary, for their being beheaded on the twelfth of February, 1554.

A furious Bigot of the name of Feckenham was dispatched to the Tower to inform her of the determination of the council, and persuade her to embrace the Roman Catholic faith. The fatal intelligence was received by the unhappy Queen with fortitude and even satisfaction. To the persuasions however, of Feckenham to alter her religion, she replied, "That the remaining part of her life was too short to be em-

employed in any thing but in prayer to God."

Feckenham, to whom this reply did not seem to convey a refusal, obtained a delay of the execution of three days, and returned with this intelligence—a faint smile played on her beautiful features while she thanked him for his kindness, assuring him however, "That she wished not to prolong an existence that had been for some time a burthen to her." Still however, she continued firm in her resolution to die in the protestant faith.

The day at length arrived in which youth, beauty, learning, and innocence, were

were to be offered up sacrifices to power, bigotry, ignorance, and injustice.

A short time previous to the execution*, Lord Guilford, her husband, requested an interview with her in order to take a last farewell. This however she stedfastly refused; "Such interviews," she said, "were augmenters of grief, and afforded no comfort in the hour of death; she therefore intreated him to have patience, for she doubted not but they would soon meet
in

* It was originally intended, that the Queen and her husband should have been beheaded on Tower Hill, but fearing their beauty and accomplishments might cause an insurrection in their favour, a scaffold was erected within the Tower.

in a better place, where no earthly power could separate them."

Nevertheless she possessed sufficient fortitude to view him from a window, as he went to the place of execution.

After this affecting sight, she wrote three short sentences in her table-book, in Greek, Latin, and English, which book, upon *Sir John Bridges's** entreaty, that she would bestow upon him some memorial, she presented to him as an acknowledgment for

* This *Sir John Bridges*, the ancestor of the present noble family of that name, Dukes of *Chandois*, was Lieutenant of the Tower at this time, and was present with Lady *Jane* in her apartment, from the windows of which she had the last sight of her husband living and dead.

for the civility she had received from him. The sense of the Greek sentence was, "If his slain body shall give testimony against me before men, his most blessed soul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence in the presence of God." The Latin sentence was to this effect, "The justice of men took away his body, but the divine mercy has preserved his soul." And the English sentence ran thus, "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth at least, and my imprudence, were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will shew me favour."

An hour after his death, she was led out by the Lieutenant of the Tower to the scaffold that was prepared

pared upon the green, over against the White Tower, dressed in a suit of black fatin, her fine hair hanging in wavy ringlets on her shoulders, her countenance pale and wan, through grief and affliction, but betraying no symptoms of fear.

Even now, in these her last moments, as if the measure of inhumanity and malice had been incomplete, she was treated with barbarity unparalelled.

As she was walking to the scaffold, the officers of justice interrupted her passage, bearing along the headless body of her husband to inter it in the Tower; the sight somewhat discomposed her, but recollecting herself immediately

mediately, she surveyed it for some moments with a stedfast countenance, and then heaving a deep sigh walked on.

As soon as she had ascended the scaffold, she surveyed for some time, the people who were assembled to behold her execution, and then addressed them in the following speech,

“ My Lords, and you, good Christian people which come to see me die.—I am under a law, and by that law, as a never-erring judge, I am condemned to die, not for any thing I have offended the Queen's Majesty, for I will wash my hands guiltless thereof, and deliver to my God a soul as pure from such trespass, as innocence from injustice,

justice, but only for that I consented to the thing I was forced unto, constraint making the law believe I did that which I never understood. Notwithstanding I have offended Almighty God in that I have followed overmuch the lust of my own flesh, and the pleasures of this wretched world; neither have I lived according to the knowledge that God hath given me, for which cause God hath appointed to me this kind of death, and that most worthily according to my deserts; howbeit I thank him heartily that he hath given me time to repent of my sins here in this world, and to reconcile myself to my Redeemer, whom my former vanities had in a great measure displeased. Wherefore, my
Lords,

Lords, and all you good Christian people, I most earnestly desire you all to pray with me, and for me, while I am yet alive; that God of his infinite goodness and mercy will forgive my sins, how numberless and grievous soever, against him; and I beseech you all to bear me witness that I here die a true Christian woman, professing and avouching from my soul that I trust to be saved by the blood, passion, and merit of Jesus Christ, my Savior, only, and by no other means, casting far behind me all the works and merits of mine own actions as things so short of the true duty I owe, that I quake to think how much they may stand up against me."

chT

The dignity of her manner, her youth and beauty, gained the hearts of the beholders, who testified their sorrow by tears and exclamations of pity.

The lovely unfortunate, pleased with this tribute in her favour, smiled as if to set an example to the people not to grieve for the loss of that which the possessor of it valued at so cheap a rate.

She then knelt down and prayed fervently for some time.

Her women afterwards disrobed her, melting into tears as they bade her an eternal adieu; to each she delivered a small pledge by which to remember her,

her, and endeavoured to console them for her loss; then saying she was prepared, she cast her eyes to heaven, and laying her head upon the block submitted to the blow of the executioner.

Thus fell this most accomplished Lady, resigning her life in a manner worthy of her employing and improving it; "and a true Christian faith," as one observes, "having uniformly produced a Christian life with what triumph did it ramble on the sting of death, and spread a glory round the Lady Jane, that eclipsed the faint lustre of the superstitious and cruel Queen Mary on her throne*?"

The

* *Gloucester Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 427.

The smallest remains of this incomparable person are too precious to be lost, we shall therefore carefully collect what we can of them.

In the place of her confinement the following verses were found written by her, and as it is said with a pin.

*Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt:
Sors bodierna mihi eras erit illa tibi.*

In English.

Think not, O mortal, vainly gay,
That thou from human woes art free:
The bitter cup I drink to-day
To-morrow may be drunk by thee.

Deo

Deo juvante nil nocet livor malus,

Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.

Post tenebras spero lucem.

In English.

Endless all malice, if our God is nigh ;

Fruitless all pains, if he his help deny.

Patient I pass these gloomy hours away,

And wait the Morning of eternal day.

The fate of Lady Jane was universally lamented even by the best affected persons to Queen Mary ; and it might have become the Queen to have considered in time whether it was to the honour of her humanity to shed the blood of her near relation, of one who had enjoyed her friendship and favour, and who, though she had taken the

G

royal

royal diadem, yet had taken it by constraint, and which at the first motion she willingly and chearfully resigned. This hard measure, together with the fame of Lady Jane's learning and amiable virtues might excite the commendations with which her memory was honoured, among which are the following.

De Jana D. Laurentii Humfredi

Decastichon.

Jana jacet sævo non æquæ vulnere mortis,

Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, martyriò.

Ingenium Latinis ornavet fœmina musis,

Fœmina virgineo tota dicata choro.

Sanguine clara fuit, regali stirpe creata,

Ipsaque Regine nobilitata throno.

Bis

*Bis Graia est, pulchre Graiis nutrita camænis
 Et prisco Graiâm sanguine creta ducum.
 Bis martyr, sacræ fidæi verèssima testis,
 Atque vacans regni crimine Jana jacet.*

In English.

The Latin by Dr. Laurence Humphrey,
 D. D. and President of Magdalen
 Colledge in Oxford.

Here lies the mangled, murder'd frame
 Of Dudley in her op'ning bloom;
 Without one crime to stain her fame
 Cut off, and hurried to the tomb.

2.

To her imperial pedigree,
 To genius of the first renown
 She join'd the nobler dignity
 Of martyrdom's eternal crown.

G 2

The

3.

The native riches of her mind
The *Roman* literature improv'd,
And *Plato's* lore her soul refin'd;
Each Muse by her admir'd and lov'd.

4.

Sprung from the royal stock, advanc'd
For a few days to *Albion's* throne,
The envied gleam that on her glanc'd
Serv'd but to make her virtues known.

5.

Her death two martyrdoms combin'd,
This for her faith in Christ her Lord,
That for her innocence: her mind
To grasp the sceptre never soar'd.

The following *Latin* verses were also written to her memory, in which she is introduced as saying,

*Regia stirps tristi cinxi diapemate crines ;
Regna sed Omnipotens hinc meliora dedit.*

In English.

To an imperial stock my life I ow'd,
A crown imperial on my temples glow'd
At bitter sorrow and corroding care
Were woven with it while it glitter'd there.
A better diadem my God has giv'n,
As bright as lasting as the days of heav'n.

The *Latin* distich also written by the famous Martyrologist Mr. John Foxe well deserves to be recited.

Tu quibus ista legas, incertum est, lector, ocellis.

Ipse quidem siccis scribere non potui.

In English.

If thou unmov'd th' account canst hear
Of *Dudley's* worth, and *Dudley's* woes,
Not without many a trickling tear
Could I her narrative compose.

But the most particular and copious penegyric upon Lady Jane which we have met with, is that of Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, written in *Latin*, which we shall lay before our readers in an English version, that shall faithfully preserve the sense, though it shall have no other merit to recommend it.

An

An Elegy on the incomparable Lady
Jane Grey, daughter of *Henry* Duke of
Suffolk, who, with an invincible forti-
tude, suffered death by the severing
her head from her body, *February 12,*
1554.

See by the axe in beauty's bloom

The matchless *Dudley* bleeds,

Not for offences of her own,

But by her parents deeds.

Had but the measure of her time

With her deserts agreed,

The *Phœnix*, that whole centuries lives,

Her age would not exceed.

Phœnix she was of *Suffolk's* house

Th' incomparable grace;

Minerva's self adorn'd her mind,
And *Paphos' Queen* her face.

Beauty and learning both were hers,
This native, that her choice :
Her person ravish'd ev'ry eye,
And ev'ry ear her voice.

She was but seen, and love elanc'd
Its all-subduing dart ;
She was but heard, and sanctity
Aw'd and refin'd the heart.

Her face, the seat of thousand charms,
Shot a resistless flame,
Her *modesty* with down-cast eye
All loose desires o'ercame.

A body of as fine a frame
As ever nature wrought,
A soul preeminent enshrin'd,
With ev'ry science fraught.

Scarce

Scarce eighteen years had roll'd away
Ere she so learn'd was grown;
Doctors profound admiring own'd
Her peer was never known:

But yet all modest, meek, and mild
The matchless nymph was seen;
Of pride no tincture she betray'd
In aspect, speech, or mein:

All lowly as the earth she spent
Her measur'd hours of time,
Yet call'd to meet her nature's foe,
Evinc'd a soul sublime:

Not *Socrates* with firmer mind
Drunk down the bowl of death;
Than *Dudley* to the killing axe
Bow'd and resign'd her breath:

Should any think my partial *Muse*
Too lavish of applause,

And that, the *Muse's* usual blame,
Too bright a piece she draws,

Boldly to heav'n I might appeal
To witness what I say.

What! call for fiction, when the truth
Outsoars the loftiest lay?

Lately this paragon divine
In *Albion's* Isle was known,
And might for numerous years to come,
In glowing glory shine,

But *Mary's* unrelenting soul
Her blood untimely pours :
So the outrageous lioness
The gentle dove devours*.

The

* Whatever may be alledged in extenuation of the conduct of *Queen Mary* in beheading *Lady Jane*, as we own that such views may be given of the matter as may make it appear a step *politically* expedient for the *Queen* to take in order

The Queen resolv'd to wreak her wrath
Upon her guilty foes,

G 6

On

order to secure her peaceable possession of the throne, yet we fear that she was not of that mild and humane disposition which some historians may have ascribed to her, and that the strong representations which Sir *Thomas Chaloner* has here made of her cruel temper, though they may not be fairly deducible from Queen *Mary's* treatment of Lady *Jane*, yet may be justified by a survey of her behaviour in other particulars. How came it to pass, if she was of a gentle disposition, that *Smithfield*, so near to her palace, should be kept in flames almost five years together, and that she should not relent at it? —How can her unkind usage of her sister the Lady *Elizabeth* be reconciled to the dictates of a tender spirit? —Was that most ungrateful and perfidious breach of her promise with her very faithful and loyal subjects the *Suffolk-men* a proof of the goodness of her heart? Was not Judge *Hales*, who had strenuously defended and maintained her right of succession to the crown, used by her in the most ungenerous and indeed cruel manner? But above all, how barbarously was that truly excellent and
most

On unoffending *Dudley's* head

Th' fatal thunder throws.

O

most amiable man Archbishop *Cranmer* treated by her, to whom she owed even her very life? Could she be ignorant that her firm adherence to her mother's cause and interest, and her backwardness in submitting to the King (*Henry the eighth*) her father, were thought crimes of such a nature by his Majesty, who was always impatient of contradiction, that he was resolved to strike a terror into all his people by putting her openly to death, and that, when others, particularly the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, were unwilling to hazard their own interest to preserve her, the good Archbishop alone ventured to do it, that in his gentle way he told the King that she was young and indiscreet, and that therefore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that which her mother and all about her had been infusing into her for many years, but that it would appear strange if he should for this cause so far forget he was a father as to proceed to extremities with his own child; that if she were separated from her mother and her people, in a little time there might be ground gained on her, but that to take away her life would raise horror through all Europe.

O may that God, who reigns on high,
And searches ev'ry heart,
Ascend his throne, and thence to each
Distribute her desert!

For oft what human laws ordain
Is impious in his sight,
But he the infinite Supreme
Awards to all their right.

Admit that *Jane* without design
Incurr'd a righteous blame;
Why should the Queen to doom her death
Her cruel soul inflame?

To avenge the wrong, so deem the muse,
Just heav'n its wrath displays,

And

1644. Could she be ignorant of all this, and that
the Archbishop's interposition was the mean of
preserving her life? And yet this very man was
burnt to death by the orders of this ungrateful,
and must we not add, merciless woman?

And in tremendous righteousness
Cut short the murderer's days.

Long sickness she endur'd before
She felt the mortal dart;
And stings and pangs of guilt unknown
Transfix'd her conscious heart*.

Th.

* Though we ought to be very careful how we denominate adverse events of Providence occurring to particular persons as *judgments*, or peculiar expressions of the divine resentments against them, yet it cannot be amiss to take notice of the Almighty's dispensations, and particularly to observe concerning Queen *Mary*, that her reign was but short, no more than five years, four months, and eleven days, and that, after she had abolished *Protestantism*, a train of infelicities attended her to the end of her life, such as extreme scarcity of provisions at home, foreign losses, the surrender of *Calais*, great damages by thunder and lightning, and by fire in the royal navy. These afflictions, and the absence and unkindness of King *Philip* her husband, made a deep impression upon her, and are said to have

hast

Th' advisers of th' atrocious deed
Justice alike o'ertakes;
 By *Dropsy* this, that by the *Stone*,
 His painful exit makes.

A third, of intellect depriv'd
 In rage and horror dies,
 And on the fourth some chosen curse,
 Some signal vengeance lies*.

What

hastened her end. "She had been for some time," says Mr. *Rapin*, "afflicted with the dropsy, which being much increased the beginning of *November*, carried her off the seventeenth of the same month, in the 43d year of her age, 1558." *Rapin's History of England*, Vol. VII. p. 176. Octavo edit.

* We acknowledge that we cannot ascertain all the persons whom Sir *Thomas Chaloner* had in his eye in the enumeration of the calamities that beset them; but perhaps there is little doubt to be made but that the instances of *madness*, and of the *dropsy* or *stone*, regard the first judge *Morgan*, who

What though no bright immediate signs
The Deity may show

That

who condemned the lady *Jane*, and the last Dr. *Gardiner*, that merciless abetter of Popery, and who was soon after Queen *Mary's* accession to the throne, made Lord Chancellor of *England*, and might have a great influence in her counsels. As to Judge *Morgan*, he was, soon after he had pronounced sentence of condemnation, seized with madness, and in his distraction continually cried out to have the Lady *Jane* taken away from him, and so ended his life. As to the death of Dr. *Gardiner*, it was terrible beyond all expression. We shall give the account of it from a late very respectable writer. "Dr. *Gardiner* the Lord Chancellor," says our historian, "in the midst of all his splendour, secure in the favour of the Pope, and of his royal mistress, and having in view a Cardinal's Hat, and legative power from the one, and the throne of *Canterbury* from the other, triumphed over

† Dr. *Glocester Ridley's* Life of Dr. *Nicholas Ridley*, sometime Bishop of *London*, and who suffered martyrdom in Queen *Mary's* days.

That he observes or good or ill,
And governs all below,

Let

over the weakness of the two martyrs at *Oxford* (*Ridley* and *Latimer* burnt there *October* 16, 1555.) for whose deaths he was impatient. His dignity and employment would not permit him to be a spectator, and enjoy the sight, but what he could he did. He dispatched messengers on purpose to *Oxford* to be present at their execution, and to speed back to him to give him the earliest intelligence when the fire was set to them; and, though the Duke of *Norfolk* was his guest that day, he would not go to dinner till the return of the messenger had given him the satisfaction he so hungred after. At four o'clock the wretch was made happy, and went to dinner. He was not disappointed of his lust, but while the meat was yet in his mouth, the heavy wrath of God came upon him. He was seized with a suppression of urine, and, though he went five days after to the parliament, which met *October* 21, and again on the 23d, he could go out no more. A foul leprosy and dropsy increased upon him, contracted, as was reported, by drunkenness or whoredom, both which vices he had indulged

Let not presumptuous man conclude

The pow'r the thunder throws

Is

dulged much in his life, so that his body was greatly distended, his eyes distorted, and his breath too offensive to be endured. He felt all the bitter remorse of conscience without being able to mingle with it that salutary sorrow which alone can make it supportable. *I have erred,* said he, *with Peter, but I have not wept like him.* The Bishop of Chichester visiting him would have comforted him with the assurance of justification through the blood of Christ. Gardiner acknowledged the truth in private, and thereby assented to the Reformers; but desired him politically to suppress it, saying, *He might speak of that to him, or to others in his condition, but if he opened that gap again, and preached that to the people, then farewell altogether.* He suffered this protracted execution for four weeks; during which, as one wrote out of England at that time, *he spake little but blasphemy and filthiness, and gave up the ghost with curses in his mouth, in terrible and unexpressible torments.* He was called to his account that very day month that Ridley and Latimer suffered, at two o'clock in the morning, November 13.

Is impotent to save his saints,
Or smite in death his foes.

But these high awful mysteries

Let men of God describe,

Who at the fountain of his word

Truth's purest streams imbibe;

Enough for me to cull some flow'rs,

That on *Parnassus* grow,

And o'er the grave where *Dudley* lies

The fragrant honours strow;

Enough for me to tell my woes,

And in elegiac verse

Her high deserts, her cruel wrongs,

And *Albion's* groans rehearse.

Like a young bough from off the vine

Torn by the tempest's breath,

Th' incomparable *Jane* is fall'n,

For ever fall'n in death.

Dud.

Dudley, thy charms might into love

A *Cyclops*' self convert,

Or, if an harder heart exists,

Subdue that harder heart.

Could not thy youth, thine innocence,

Disarm thine enemy;

A female too, and by her Birth

So near ally'd to thee?

How could'st thou, *Mary*, vers'd in woe,

To others seem benign

And yet to *Jane* no pity show,

The glory of thy line?

Shall not, O *Queen*, a cultur'd mind

A mind more cultur'd spare?

Her excellencies who shall tell,

How numerous, and how rare?

How few of either sex or age

Their country's boast and praise,

Of

Of great accomplishment ere join'd
Such bright, such various rays ?

'Tis far below her fame to tell
With what a skilful hand
She touch'd the lyre, and with the sounds
The passions could command ;

Or how inimitably fine
The works her needle wrought,
Or with what strokes of matchless art
Her pen pourtray'd her thoughts.

Scarce less than miracles I sing
Though *Dudley* dy'd so young,
Her vast capacity and toils
Had conquer'd many a tongue,

That through *Arabia* known, whose sons
Ne'er felt a foreign yoke,
That from *Chaldaea* nam'd, and that
The sons of *Heber* spoke.

Smal

Small were the praise t' adjoin the tongue
 Through *Greece* and *Rome* renown'd,
 Those tongues we now so often hear
 From *Albion's* Fair resound.

French and *Italian*, both enlarg'd
 Her intellectual stores;
 And last that language well she knew
 That sounds through *Albion's* shores.

Thus, not as yet arriv'd at age,
Eight tongues she understood;
 And, breaking learning's rinds, she seiz'd,
 She feasted on the food.

If wide thy fame, thrice sacred sage*,
 Who mad'st five tongues thine own,

Say

*The passage which we have thus translated, when rendered word for word from Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, runs thus; "*Stridon* may envy who gave thee birth, thou holy man, who wert master of five languages: our girl has surpassed by three tongues."

Say what supreme, unbounded praise
Should *Dudley's* memory crown?

If virtue from a graceful form
Does double grace receive,
Does not a noble parentage
An equal lustre give?

Then well survey her parentage
From an illustrious line.
Her fire descending gave his race
In his own beams to shine:

Her mother trac'd her pedigree
From *Albion's* mighty King;
And this of *Jane's* o'erwhelming woes
Unlock'd the direful spring.

Con-

tongues." There can be no question but Sir
Thomas had in his eye the famous *Jerom*, who
was born at *Stridon* in *Hungary*, and was master
of the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, and *Hebrew*
languages.

Contented, happy in her sphere,
 Without one wish to rise,
 She view'd the royal diadem
 With undesiring eyes ;

But Nobles of her high descent
 To serve themselves alone [nymph
 Th' advantage seiz'd, and plac'd the
 Reluctant on the throne.

Then where her blame? the pressing suit
 When she would fain deny?
 Or why for treasons not her own
 Must she be doom'd to die?

The regal title, regal state,
Dudley at once lays down,
 And without grief or envy sees
 Her rival take the crown.

Mary's exasperated soul
 No such enjoyment knows ;

And

And, while to lives that less deserv'd
The Queen forbearance shows,

Within her bosom for the fair
Compassion finds no room;
Her consanguinity o'erlook'd,
And more her pregnant womb*.

H

Her

* Though Sir *Thomas Chaloner*, whom we may stile a cotemporary with Lady *Jane*, and whose elegy to her memory, with his other poems, was published 1579, has made no scruple to affirm that Lady *Jane* was with child when she suffered death, and thereby immensely aggravated the asperity of Queen *Mary*, yet we own, that there does not appear to us sufficient reason to support the charge, and we rather join with the author's of the *Biographia Britannica*, who say, "that whereas some of our own writers seem to doubt whether Lady *Jane* was with child or not at the time of her decease, and improved this into a direct assertion that she was five months gone, it seems to be improbable, since there were at that time so many busy and inquisitive people, that if the fact had been true,

it

And

Her age, her lineage, and her sex,
The nobles only guilt
Might sure have pleaded that the blood
Of *Jane* should not be spilt;

But nothing could the marble heart
Of *Mary* mollify;
Upon the scaffold by the steel
She dooms the fair to die.

Dauntless the heaven-supported nymph
The traitor's death endur'd,
In her own virtue, and the hopes
Of endless bliss secur'd.

it must have been known, and would have been
perpetually repeated in those pieces that were
every day sent abroad in order to exasperate the
nation against the Queen and her Ministers.
Biographia Britannica, Vol. IV. p. 24, 25.

So *Polyxena** at the tomb
 Of *Peleus*' son was slain :
Pyrrhus, thou never from thy soul
 Couldst wipe the sanguine stain !

So to appease *Diana*'s rage
Iphigenia † stood,

H 2

And

* *Polyxena* was the daughter of *Priam*, the King of *Troy*, who is said to have given her in marriage to *Achilles*, but he coming into the temple of *Apollo* to perform the nuptial rites was there treacherously slain by *Paris*. After the sacking of *Troy*, the ghost of *Achilles* is said to have appeared, and demanded his spouse, who thereupon was sacrificed at the tomb of *Achilles* by *Neoptolimus*, or as he was otherwise called *Pyrrhus*, the son of *Achilles*. *Polyxena* is represented to have met her end with an invincible fortitude.

† *Iphigenia* was the daughter of *Agamemnon*, King of *Greece*. The story concerning her is that *Agamemnon* having accidentally killed one of *Diana*'s stags, was by the Goddess in revenge
 wind-

And calmly view'd the dreadful knife
Unsheath'd to drink her blood.

The crowd that gather'd round the block
Were all dissolv'd in tears;
Dudley alone unweeping stands,
Alone serene appears.

With words so gentle, so divine,
The martyr quits the stage,
As might have touch'd a tyger's heart
And turn'd to love his rage.

Ah

wind-bound at *Aulis* with his whole fleet, and that the Oracle acquainted the *Greeks*, that *Diana* would not be appeased except some of the King's children were sacrificed. Upon which it is said by some of the *Latin* poets that *Iphigenia* was actually slain, while others tell us that when she was at the altar, *Diana* pitied her, put an hart in her place, and carried her away to be her priestess. Though we pay little credit to these *Pagan* accounts, yet poets in these later ages may be permitted to refer to them.

Ah me!—no more—my spirit faints—
 My voice in tears is drown'd.
 But *Jane*, the matchless *Jane*, the Nine
 For ever shall resound.

Mary, when seas can scarce suffice
 To wash thy stains away,
 Thou might'st at least thy bloody hand
 From *Dudley's* murder stay!

Miss *Scott's* lines on Lady *Jane* in
 her poem, entitled, *The Female Advocate*, are no dishonour to the Lady who
 composed them, as they are not un-
 worthy even of the transcendent cha-
 racter they celebrate;

The beauteous *Dudley* rose to grace the stage,
 The pride and wonder of her sex and age :
 Low-bending at the radiant shrine of truth
 Her soul renounc'd the idle toys of youth ;

Impell'd by nobler fires she boldly soar'd,
 And ev'ry science, ev'ry art explor'd:
 Religion, in its purest form array'd,
 Her tongue, her manners, and her pen display'd.
 Forc'd to the splendid burden of a crown,
 She soon with pleasure laid the burden down;
 Her steady soul fate's fiercest frown could brave,
 Secure of endless bliss beyond the grave.

O *Faith*, whose sacred transports never cloy,
 Sweet prelibation of immortal joy!
 What proud *Philosophy* but aims to preach,
 'Tis thine with sov'reign energy to teach.
 Inspir'd by thee we learn to smile at pain,
 And all the vanities of life disdain,
 Serenely meet the sudden stroke of fate,
 Or wait, if Heav'n approves, a longer date;
 Convinc'd, howe'er eternal truth decides,
 A parents love still o'er our weal presides.

To conclude the encomiums upon
 this very extraordinary person, and
 our

our Memoirs of her, we shall add what Mr. *Fuller* justly and concisely observes. "She had," says he, "the innocence of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle life, and the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen. She had the birth of a Princess, the learning of a Divine, and the life of a Saint; and yet suffered the death of a malefactor for the offences of her parents*." Does she not now shine, let the author of these Memoirs be permitted to add, a star of the first magnitude in the kingdom of her Father?

We shall enrich our history of this excellent Lady by presenting our readers with a letter written to her father

H 4

during

* *Fuller's Holy State*, p. 311.

during the time of her imprisonment ;
who, by his solicitations to her to
take the crown, became the un-
happy instrument of her untimely
death.

“ FATHER,

“ Although it hath pleased God to
“ hasten my death by you, by whom
“ my life should rather have been
“ lengthened, yet can I so patiently
“ take it, as I yield God more hearty
“ thanks for shortening my woful days,
“ than if all the world had been given
“ unto my possessions with life length-
“ ened at my own will. And albeit
“ I am well assured of your impatient
“ dolours, redoubled manifold ways,
both

“both in bewailing your own woes,
“and especially as I hear my unfor-
“tunate state, yet, my dear father, if I
“may without offence rejoyce in my
“own mishaps, meseems in this I may
“account myself blessed, that wash-
“ing my hands with the innocency
“of my fact, my guiltless blood may
“cry before the Lord mercy to the
“innocent. And yet though I must
“acknowledge, that being constrain-
“ed, and as you wot well enough,
“and continually assayed, in taking
“upon me, I seemed to consent,
“and therein grievously offended the
“Queen, and her laws, yet do I as-
“suredly trust, that this my offence
“towards God is so much the less, in
“that, being in so royal estate as I was,

H 5

“mine

“ mine inforced honour never blended
“ with mine innocent heart. And
“ thus, good father, I have opened to
“ you the state in which I presently
“ stand, whose death at hand, al-
“ though to you perhaps it may seem
“ right woful, to me there is nothing
“ can be more welcome, than from
“ this vale of misery to aspire to that
“ heavenly throne of all joy and plea-
“ sure with Christ our Savior; in whose
“ stedfast faith, if it may be lawful for
“ the daughter to write to the father,
“ the Lord that hitherto hath strength-
“ ened you so continue you, that at
“ the last we may meet in heaven with
“ the Father, the Son, and the Holy
“ Ghost.”

Another letter of this Lady's is preserved, which was written at the end of a *Greek Testament*, and was sent by her to her sister *Catharine**, the night before Lady *Jane* was beheaded.

“ I have here sent you, good sister
“ *Catherine*, a book, which although
“ it be not outwardly trimmed with
“ gold, yet inwardly it is more worth
“ than precious stones. It is the book,
“ dear sister, of the Law of the Lord.
“ It is his testament and last will, which
“ he bequeathed unto us wretches,
“ which shall lead you to the path of
H 6 “ eter-

* The Lady *Jane* had two sisters younger than herself, his Lady *Catherine* the eldest, and Lady *Mary* the younger.

“ eternal joy, and, if you with a good
“ mind read it, and with an earnest
“ mind do purpose to follow it, it
“ shall bring you to an immortal and
“ everlasting life. It shall teach you how
“ to live, and learn you to die. It shall
“ win you more than you should have
“ gained by your woful father’s lands;
“ for, as if God had prospered him,
“ you should have inherited his lands,
“ so, if you apply diligently this book,
“ seeking to direct your life after it,
“ you shall be an inheritor of such
“ riches, as neither the covetous shall
“ withdraw from you, neither thief
“ shall steal, neither yet the moths cor-
“ rupt. Desire with *David*, good sis-
“ ter, to understand the Law of the
“ Lord Gcd. Live still to die, that
“ you

“you by death may purchase eternal
“life, and trust not that the tenderness
“of your age shall lengthen your life,
“for as soon, if God call, goeth the
“young as the old, and labour always
“to learn to die. Defy the world, deny
“the devil, and despise the flesh, and
“delight yourself only in the Lord.
“Be penitent for your sins, and yet
“despair not; be strong in faith, and
“desire with Saint *Paul* to be with
“Christ, with whom even in death
“there is life. Be like the good ser-
“vant, and even at midnight be wak-
“ing, lest when death cometh, and
“stealeth upon you as a thief in the
“night, you be with the evil servant
“found sleeping, and lest for lack of
“oil you be found like the five foolish
“women

“ women, and like him that had not on
“ the wedding-garment, and then ye
“ be cast out from the marriage. Re-
“ joice in Christ, as I do. Follow the
“ steps of your master Christ, and take
“ up your cross. Lay your sins on
“ his back, and always embrace him.
“ And as touching my death, rejoyce
“ as I do, good sister, that I shall be
“ delivered of this corruption, and put
“ on incorruption, for I am assured
“ that I shall, for losing of a mortal
“ life, win an immortal life, the which
“ I pray God grant you, and send you
“ of his grace to live in his fear, and to
“ die in the true Christian faith, from
“ the which, in God's name, I exhort
“ you, that you never swerve, neither
“ for hope of life, nor for fear of death;
“ for

“for if you will deny his truth for to
“lengthen your life, God will deny
“you, and yet shorten your days; and
“if you will cleave unto him, he will
“prolong your days, to your com-
“fort, and his glory; to the which
“glory God bring me now, and you
“hereafter, when it pleaseth him to
“call you! Fare you well, good sister,
“and put your only trust in God, who
“only must help you.”

• We shall conclude the excellent
composures of this worthy Lady with
a prayer drawn up by her in the time
of her trouble, which will open to
our readers the state of her mind
in the near views of death and
eternity.

“O

“ O Lord, thou God and Father of
“ my life, hear me poor and desolate
“ woman, which flieth unto thee only
“ in all troubles and miseries. Thou,
“ O Lord, art the only defender and
“ deliverer of those that put their trust
“ in thee, and therefore I, being de-
“ filed with sin, encumbered with
“ afflictions, unquieted with troubles,
“ wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with
“ miseries, and grievously tormented
“ with the long imprisonment of this
“ vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do
“ come unto thee, O merciful Savior,
“ craving thy mercy and help, with-
“ out the which so little hope of de-
“ liverance is left, that I may utterly
“ despair of any liberty. Albeit it is
“ expedient, that seeing our life stand-
“ eth

"eth upon trying, we should be visit-
"ed sometime with some adversity,
"whereby we might both be tried
"whether we be of that flock or no,
"and also know thee and ourselves the
"better; yet thou that saidest thou
"wouldest not suffer us to be tempted
"above our power, be merciful unto
"me, that I may neither be too much
"puffed up with prosperity, neither
"too much pressed down with adver-
"sity, lest I being too full, should deny
"thee, my God, or being too low
"brought, should despair, and blas-
"pheme thee, my Lord and Savior.
"O merciful God, consider my calling
"best known unto thee, and be thou
"now unto me a strong tower of de-
"fence, I humbly require thee, Suf-
"fer

“fer me not to be tempted above my
“power, but either be thou a deliverer
“to me out of this great misery, either
“else give me grace patiently to bear
“thy heavy hand, and sharp correc-
“tion. It was thy right-hand that
“delivered the people of *Israel* out of
“the hands of *Pharaoh*, which for the
“space of four hundred years did op-
“press them, and keep them in bond-
“age. Let it therefore seem good to
“thy fatherly goodness to deliver me
“forrowful wretch, for whom thy Son
“Christ shed his precious blood on the
“cross, out of this miserable captivity
“and bondage, wherein I am now.
“How long wilt thou be absent? For
“ever? Oh Lord, hast thou forgotten
“to be gracious, and hast thou shut up
“thy

"thy loving-kindness in displeasure? •
"Wilt thou no more be intreated?
"Is thy mercy clean gone for ever,
"and thy promise come utterly to an
"end for evermore? Why dost thou
"make so long tarrying? Shall I de-
"spair of thy mercy, O God? Far be
"that from me. I am thy workm-an
"ship, created in Christ Jesus; give
"me grace therefore to tarry thy leisure,
"and patiently to bear thy works, as-
"suredly knowing, that as thou canst,
"so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall
"please thee, nothing doubting or
"mistrusting thy goodness towards me,
"for thou knowest better what is good
"for me than I do, therefore do with
"me in all things what thou wilt, and
"plague me what way thou wilt. On-
"ly in the mean time arm me, I be-
"seech thee with thy armour, that I
• "may

“ may stand fast, my loins being girt
“ about with verity, having on the
“ breast-plate of righteousness, and
“ shod with the shoes prepared by the
“ gospel of peace, above all things tak-
“ ing to me the shield of faith, where-
“ with I may be able to quench all the
“ fiery darts of the wicked, and taking
“ the helmet of salvation, and the sword
“ of the Spirit, which is thy most holy
“ word, praying always with all man-
“ ner of prayer and supplication, that
“ I may refer myself wholly to thy
“ will, abiding thy pleasure, and com-
“ fort myself in those troubles
“ which it shall please thee to send me,
“ seeing such troubles be profitable for
“ me, and seeing I am assuredly per-
“ suaded that it cannot but be well all
“ that thou doest. Hear me, O mer-
“ ciful Father, for his sake, whom thou
“ wouldst

"wouldest should be a sacrifice for my
"sins; to whom with thee, and the
"Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory.
"Amen."

I cannot restrain myself from adding what Bishop *Burnet* says concerning her, which, if it is a digression in the order of our account of this Lady, it will be more than excused for the excellency of the character this celebrated historian draws of her. "She
"read," says he, "the scriptures much,
"and had attained great knowledge in
"divinity. But with all these advantages of birth and parts she was so
"humble, so gentle, and pious, that
"all the people both admired and
"loved her. She had a mind wonderful
"fully

“ fully raised above the world, and at
“ the age, when others are but im-
“ bibing the notions of philosophy,
“ she had attained to the practice of
“ the highest precepts of it. She was
“ neither lifted up with the crown, nor
“ cast down, when she saw her palace
“ made afterwards her prison, but car-
“ ried herself with an equal temper of
“ mind in those great inequalities of
“ fortune, that so suddenly exalted
“ and depressed her. All the passion
“ she expressed in it was that which
“ is of the noblest sort, and is the in-
“ dication of tender and generous na-
“ tures, being much affected with the
“ troubles in which her husband and
“ father fell on her account*.

“ Reader,

* *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, Vol. II. p. 234, 335. Folio Edit.

Reader, we have often admired the religious equanimity of Socrates, the firmness of Plato, the constancy of Seneca, the manly composure of Sir Thomas More, in the hour of death; but, whatever we have admired in the death of those eminent men, we behold with equal lustre in the last moments of a female, who had scarcely completed her seventeenth year, whom it were indeed insufficient to call lovely, innocent, and unfortunate, but whose virtues, whose accomplishments, and whose fortitude we defy any age or nation to surpass*. Thousands have been unfortunate, as many have suffered

* I have always thought that there is a great resemblance between her fate and that of Mary, Queen of Scots; both were lovely in their persons; both were the wonders of the age in which they lived, for mental accomplishments; each was unfortunate, and each fell a sacrifice to persecution, and to power justly unexerted.

ferred unmerited persecution, but we shall generally find some blemish in their characters which blunts the edge of our afflictions, and lessens our pity for their sufferings; but here in the character before us, the severest tortures of criticism will not be able to discover a single fault.

Yet for a moment let us forget the severity of her fate, and consider her death in a philosophic view; we must then confess that it was of signal service, for by such actions were the people convinced of the intolerant and inhuman spirit of the Roman Catholics, and therefore more easily consented to reject the tenets of their religion in favour of this more mild, more moderate, and more forbearing.

F I N I S.



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